

## Government Finds Mass Prosperity Is Non-Existent

Millions Throughout Country Are  
Receiving Less Than The  
Minimum Standard

WASHINGTON.—"There are large numbers of common laborers in this country whose earnings, under the best of conditions, are far below the requirements of healthful living and good citizenship," says the Monthly Labor Review, issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Labor Bulletin quotes statistics to show that the 1926 average for 200,000 railroad laborers was the lowest, with \$17.17 a week. The lumber industry ranks next lowest, the national average being \$17.17, and for the lowest paid district, \$10.48. In bituminous mining, owing to the irregularity of operation, over which the individual worker has no control, the national weekly average was \$22.74 for inside laborers and \$23.58 for outside laborers. The lowest district average was \$10.34.

Only in the case of anthracite coal mining, foundries and motor vehicle manufacture did the weekly earnings for all districts average more than \$25 per week and even in the second and third of these industries the average earnings in the lowest paid districts were well below \$25, being, in fact, as low as \$14.37 in the case of foundries.

Moreover, it is to be emphasized that in the case of all the manufacturing industries listed, the earnings reported are full-time earnings and thus in excess of the actual earnings.

"Full-time earnings can only be obtained by those who are so fortunate as to be working for an establishment which operates full time and who loses no time from sickness, accident or other misfortunes."

"The figures here presented," continues the Monthly Labor Bulletin, "indicate clearly that there are groups of laborers in many industries who are receiving very inadequate wages. This is evident, even though the difficulty is recognized of determining just what is an adequate living wage. Anyone with experience of life and of present day cost of living must recognize that many, and probably most, of the men and women who are referred to were not sufficient for the maintenance of a family at a wholesome standard of living."

## Wages Slump And Hours Lengthen in Textile Industries

Government Reports Also Reveal  
Outrageous Wages to Women  
And Southern Labor

Prosperity is cracking in one of our basic manufacturing industries—the textile industry. Wages are going down and hours of labor are going up, despite the capitalist boasting that capitalism is solving the labor problem in America by giving constantly higher wages and shorter hours; despite organization efforts of the trade unions, despite the constantly increasing product of the worker due to machinery, and despite the constantly swelling profits and dividends of the owning class. These facts are disclosed by two bulletins just issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the woolen and worsted industry the average employee worked an hour per week longer in 1926 than in 1920, and received \$5.66 less per week.

In the cotton goods manufacturing industry the average employee worked an hour and a half per week longer in 1926 than in 1920, and got \$7 per week less pay.

That is prosperity as it is spelled in the textile towns in 1927, struggled back a little farther in 1924, and slumped deplorably in 1926.

But, wretched as are the full-time wages given in the table, they do not tell the whole story. Those figures represent the amount that the employee would earn if he worked every hour of the weekly schedule. What he—or she—actually earns is a good deal less.

**Actual Earnings Per Week**  
The government bulletins do not figure the difference between actual and theoretical earnings for the textile industries, but they give it by

(Continued on page 5)

## DEADLY PARALLEL—DOLLARS VS. MEN IN UNITED STATES

Investment Value  
of American Dollar

The Wall Street Journal has compiled some interesting facts on the subject of the General Motors company.

If a man had bought 100 shares of General Motors common stock in 1904, at the par value of \$100 per share, his total investment would have been \$10,000.

If he had simply held tight to those shares, without making any further investments, he would now have 5,047 shares, worth \$1,165,000 in the market, and in the meantime he would have received \$263,000 in dividends.

If he had exercised the right of forced him of buying stock in the time of his investment, by this time would amount to \$99,500. Of course, he could have paid this out of the dividends. But he would have now 7,269 shares, worth \$2,024,000, and he would have collected \$350,000 in cash dividends.

This illustrates the tremendous "earning" power American capitalism at its peaks has given to dollars, or to mere ownership of invested dollars. THUS BY INVESTMENT AND REINVESTMENT IT WAS POSSIBLE TO FORCE A TRIBUTE OF \$2,358,000 FROM \$10,000 INVESTED DOLLARS IN NINETEEN YEARS!

Every dollar thus invested and manipulated would extract from productive labor twelve and a half times its value EVERY YEAR FOR NINETEEN YEARS!

Investment Value  
of American Worker

Now let us see what value American capitalism puts on productive human labor in contrast to dead dollars—or mere ownership of dollars.

All insurance companies agree that a skilled worker, young or of middle age, is worth at least \$10,000 to the community. Most of them put a much higher economic value on such a person, but let it go at that.

Let us suppose that a locomotive engineer got a good passenger run in 1908, and has held it ever since with a minimum loss of time.

The \$10,000 man has received in this 19 years not more than \$30,000; probably a good deal less.

The \$10,000 investment has received in cash and stock dividends \$2,358,000—47 TIMES AS MUCH.

The WORKER has been rendering a skilled, valuable, hazardous and necessary service to society—but American capitalism considers him worth \$10,000 as an investment and pays for him as an investment only one-forty-seventh as much as it pays an idle and useless OWNER for the use of 10,000 non-producing dollars.

### What This Means

The above parallel represents American capitalism at its highest present point of development IN THE EXTRACTING OF PROFITS FOR MERE OWNERSHIP. The General Motors is an exceptional example of the smooth perfection of the triple game of monopoly, dividend drawing and stock dividend looting, but it represents a condition toward which corporations generally are more or less tending. The whole trust system is being built up to the end of perfecting the process of extracting profits on this wholesale scale. The number of trusts and combines that will be able to do something resembling what General Motors is now doing will constantly increase.

The blind tendency of capitalism is toward DIVERTING ALL INCOME TO MERE OWNERSHIP OR INVESTMENT AND AWAY FROM PRODUCTIVE OR CREATIVE LABOR. Since such a goal is not possible—since it is in its very nature destructive of productive effort, and therefore self-destructive, capitalism contains in its very structure the seeds of its own death. SOMEWHERE IN THIS BLIND PROCESS OF GOBBLING ALL INCOME FOR THE MERE INVESTING OWNER AND TAKING IT ALL AWAY FROM THE PRODUCTIVE WORKER THERE IS A BREAKING POINT!

But capitalism cannot stop short of this breaking point. It is driven toward its impossible goal by irresistible economic forces. The appearance on the horizon of such economic Molochs as General Motors is the signal of the approaching end of the capitalist system.

Socialism must of necessity succeed the present monstrous system, because Socialism is based upon the following principle: NO INCOME TO MERE OWNERSHIP; ALL INCOME TO CREATIVE AND PRODUCTIVE EFFORT.

## Iceland Close To Socialism

Oslo, Norway, Aug. 27.—Following the recent general election the conservative government in Iceland has given way to an agrarian cabinet. As this government relies on the socialists for its existence, several socialistic measures are expected, including state trade and nationalization of the fisheries.

In order to convey to Appeal readers some idea of the swift ascent to the very threshold of power of the Icelandic Socialists, we reprint the following extract from an article in a recent issue of International Information, bulletin of the Labor and Socialist International.

"Since 1916 the Party has taken part in all elections, and now has 22 parliamentary representatives, one in the Lower House, consisting of 28 members, and one in the Upper House, which has 14. The last elections in 1923 showed that relatively the Labor Party has made greater progress than any other Party. It obtained 7,000 votes out of about 40,000 and accordingly would be entitled to a considerably greater representation. The anomaly is due to the unfortunate distribution of the constituencies, among which the agriculture districts elect proportionately more members than the urban districts. Moreover the minimum voting age is 35. At a bye-election in the autumn of 1925 the Party maintained its seat in the capital. In the town councils of three places the Party has a majority, and in several others holds from one-third to one-half of the seats."

**Judge Panken Spurns  
Republican Nomination**

New York.—Possibility of a Republican endorsement for Municipal Court Justice Jacob Panken, Socialist, in New York City, was shattered when Justice Panken indicated in an interview with the New Leader, that he would not accept the Republican nomination.

"I am a Socialist and can only be a candidate of the party which represents the workers," Justice Panken said. "I am serving the workingmen and will live and die with them."

## North Dakota State Mill Makes Profit

GRAND FORKS, N. D.—The large flour mill here owned and operated by the state of North Dakota, made an operating profit of \$20,000 for the first seven months of 1927, according to a report just issued by the state senate. This marks a turn of this publicly owned industry toward profitable operation.

In 1926 a loss of \$428,000 was reported. The senate committee finds that the causes of last year's losses were:

Excessive prices paid to Twin Cities commission houses for wheat.

Flour sales in large quantities for less than the cost of bare materials and transportation.

Lack of coordination between the buying and sales departments.

While pointing out these mistakes in the past policy of the plant the committee finds encouragement for the future in several factors.

Conditions like those forced losses on many privately-owned flour mills and forced a number of privately-owned flour mills out of business in North Dakota.

## Rand School Awards 85 Labor Scholarships

The Rand School of Social Science has awarded eighty-five free scholarships for the Workers' Training Course to members of trade unions. Among these are fourteen awarded to members of the A. C. W. U., ten to members of the Furriers Union, six to the Millinery Workers Union, six to the Int. Pocketbook Workers Union, six to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, five to Local 3 of the Electrical Workers, four to the Cloth, Hat and Capmakers Union, three to the American Association of Plumbers' Helpers, three to the Bronze & Iron Workers Union, three to the United Neckwear Cutters' Union, and two to the Suitcase & Bag Makers Union. Thirty more scholarships are available to members of labor organizations by applying at once in the office of the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

The school term begins on September 12. Registration is now open.

## From The Pen Of Debs

Brotherhood and Peace

Is there any mortal outside of any asylum who would not halt with joy the advent of brotherhood and peace in this weary and air-scarred world?

Brotherhood and Peace? Who shall tell of the benign influence, the softening effect even the dream of human brotherhood and of peace and of good will among men has had upon mankind?

But brotherhood and peace, in all things the opposite of selfishness and strife, beautiful and elevating as they are as dreams and ideals, can only come upon earth when material conditions are ripe for their realization.

Class rule, whether in an autocracy, or monarchy or a republic, is always and everywhere fatal to brotherhood and peace. The material relations that men and nations bear to each other determine largely their social and ethical relations. If their material relations are mutual they will be friendly; if antagonistic they will be enemies.

The capitalist class and the working class can never be friends, and brotherhood and peace can never be realized until the war between them is ended by the abolition of class rule and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

To this end the Socialist movement is educating and organizing the working class and preparing the people for the inevitable change.

The Socialist movement, based upon the philosophy of mutualism and embracing the whole of humanity, is at once the revolution of the masses for the overthrow of class rule and the historic agency, material and moral, for the reconstruction of society upon the foundation stones of brotherhood and peace.

## French Unions Vote Cooperation With Socialists

Events Drive Federation of  
Labor from Its Former  
Non-political Stand

Although French labor has been more or less passive for many years, and the workers have voted the Socialist ticket, the recent annual national convention of the French Federation of Labor at Paris, for the first time in its history adopted a political platform and voted cooperation with the Socialist Party.

The former non-political stand was not due to the influence of capitalism and the capitalist political parties, as in America, but to the influence of the anarchists and syndicalists. These elements originally organized the French workers and have managed until the recent convention to influence them away from any endorsement of political action and the Socialist Party.

Despite the active opposition of the anarchists and syndicalists, who disavow all voting and political action, the French Federation of Labor, by direct action, the French trade unionists have repeatedly developed strong tendencies to open endorsement and support of the Socialist Party.

Before the War French workers were drifting away from the Socialist Party, when the War came and the Socialist Party took an anti-war stand and the Federation of Labor was again drifting to endorsement of the Socialist Party, when the Communist movement arose and presented a Labor-Socialist combination.

However, post-war conditions have strikingly brought to the organized workers of France the folly of a non-political stand and the value of political action. Although not officially endorsed by organized Labor, the French Socialist Party continued unswervingly to function as a Labor Party. This attitude of the Socialists and the dire need by the defense against the forces of capitalism, convinced the moderate majority in the Federation, which is neither anarchist or syndicalist, of the wisdom of incorporating the Socialist Party.

The motion to affiliate with the Socialist Party was carried by the moderate majority against the opposition of the anarchists and syndicalists. The convention repudiated direct action and the Communist Party by an overwhelming majority, gave to the general secretary and veteran leader of the federation, Jouhaux, openly avowed himself a partisan of the Socialist party, although not a member of the party. This and his recommendation for a close cooperation between these two organizations gave to this convention the stamp of the highest historical significance. From now on, the majority of the French trade unionists will march shoulder to shoulder with their brothers in other countries of Europe.

## Bloody, Nation-Wide Suppression "Closes" Sacco-Vanzetti Protest

### Former Allies Arm Germany Secretly For War on Russia

Powers Plot to Restore German  
Militarism in order to  
Prevent Socialism

Ten years after the war to "destroy German militarism and end war" finds both sides in this former battle "for peace and democracy" secretly plotting together to militarize Germany against the workers and make irresistible war upon soviet Russia, the only workers' republic in the world.

The treaty of Versailles holds Germany down to a small army. The German reactionaries now in control of the government fear that this army would be too small to defend the interests of the ruling class in case the workers were goaded to revolution by unemployment or intolerable conditions in industry. The reactionary leaders of the Nationalist party, therefore, have evolved a very cunning plot to get their former foes in the World War into a willing frame of mind to permit the arming of Germany.

The plot is nothing less than to constitute the reactionary government of Germany as the special agent of Western European capitalism, especially British capitalism, to make war on soviet Russia and take a prominent part in the contemplated destruction of the soviet government by the Western Powers.

These startling facts have been revealed by Social Democratic party papers of Germany, following an announcement by the Belgian war minister to Brinquelle and the French general Guillaumet, commander of the French army of occupation on the Rhine, that they had reliable secret information to the effect that the German government was surreptitiously preparing for a war of revenge against Belgium and France.

These charges were grave enough to induce the German war department to give out an official denial. The German Socialists declare that this denial deserves no credit and that it dodges the main issue altogether.

The German Socialists point out that the German war department is making preparations for a war quite openly, not secretly, that these preparations are aimed against Russia, and that they are made with the full knowledge and connivance of the British government.

The German war department has worked out a plan for the reorganization of the German army, which was to be submitted for approval to the British, French, Belgian and Italian governments. This bill was drawn up after secret conversations between the German and former allied governments.

The secret military organizations of the German Monarchist groups which alarm the Belgian and French army leaders are merely a part of the open reorganization plan which all allied governments already know.

The facts which the Belgian and French army leaders charge up against the German government, refer only to things which happened in the past, not to the open and legal plan to reorganize the German army.

The German Socialists assert that the German Nationalists are no longer trying to prepare secretly and illegally for a war against France and Belgium. To that extent they have given up their opposition to Foreign Minister Stresemann's Locarno policies.

The level of employment in July, 1927, was 2.8 per cent lower than in July, 1926, and pay roll totals were 2.3 per cent lower.

The largest employment decreases reported last July were in the pottery and stove industries, 20% and 16.4 per cent, respectively; iron and steel fell off 21 per cent; automobiles, hosiery, rubber boots and shipbuilding over 6 per cent; woolen goods, glass, agricultural implements and pianos over 4 per cent and confectionery, 5.7 per cent.

They are giving persons in Chicago with alleged criminal records sanctuary in order to find some way to lock them up, because the ordinary processes of law have broken down from corruption. What's the matter of testing the sanity of everybody responsible for this crazy and dangerous procedure?

**Employment Still  
Declines in U. S.**

Washington.—Employment and pay rolls decreased in July, as compared with June, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports. Employment dropped 2 per cent and pay rolls 4 1/2 per cent.

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### Debs Memorial Edition Coming!

A DEBS MEMORIAL EDITION of the American Appeal will be issued in time for the series of DEBS MEMORIAL MEETINGS to be held over the United States, as announced in this and last week's issue of the Appeal.

This special edition will touch the high points in Debs' life and character and in addition will contain the best propaganda material for making Socialists obtainable.

You know what an excellent edition we got out last week for American Labor Day. Many of you are sorry now that you did not order it in time. Be warned, and get in on the big DEBS MEMORIAL EDITION.

This issue will appear Saturday, October 15, so as to reach Memorial Meetings all over the United States that will be held October 20, or thereabouts.

Plans connected with the MEETINGS and the TWO WEEKS OF ACTIVITIES between the dates of Debs' death and birth—Oct. 20 and Nov. 5—are being worked out by the National Office in cooperation with the State and Local organizations and will be announced later.

### Police Training in Chemical Warfare Alarms Labor Paper

(From the Toledo Union Leader)

Gas and bullets are not deemed by the interests who are in the saddle in Toledo and who see the police force as their own personal property as sufficient protection against "mobs."

Numbers of policemen are now to be trained in the use of chemicals in handling any of the common herd as may get hungry this winter and demand work or food. The big manufacturers of the city insist on advertising in outside cities for workers when there is not work here for the home folks.

Two weeks ago Police Chief Jennings and Mayor Mery gave their approval of a gas gun, a large number of which it was proposed be bought for police use.

A salesman was in the city demonstrating the gas apparatus which the mayor said was "for use in capturing prisoners."

Most folks are under the impression that a "prisoner" is one who already has been captured.

"Use of chemicals in domestic disturbances will be taught police teams from Toledo who are to go to Camp Perry," it is reported in the daily Press.

Ten we are told that the training of these men in the use of chemicals will put them in a position to return and act as instructors for the other policemen.

**Put Down Citizens?**

Just what is meant by "domestic disturbances" is hard to understand. Of course, a strike could easily be interpreted as a "domestic disturbance" as long as it was not foreign.

A gathering of the citizens anywhere to protest against any wrongs in municipal management, evidences by officials, to demand action by public officials who are getting the taxpayers' money, or insistence on the enforcement of the law—a right guaranteed by the constitution—might easily be called a "domestic disturbance" and the police with gas and lead and chemicals turned loose upon such an assembly.

Those who ride on the backs of the wage working and producing class are determined to ride harder and harder and not be unhorsed, it would seem from all appearances in Toledo.

And who is it that inspires these expenditures?

No lodge, union, church, civic society or any of the plain people have requested them. Then who has? Do you think it would be hard to guess?

**Sinclair Novel  
on Sacco-Vanzetti**

In the following telegram to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, Upton Sinclair, the renowned Socialist author, announces a forthcoming novel based on the Sacco-Vanzetti case:

"Your invitation just received. Regrettably I cannot attend Conference. Am coming next month. Will make my contribution to the cause in the shape of a novel entitled 'Boston' with Sacco and Vanzetti as the proletarian heroes. No blacker crime has ever been committed in America than their execution. Their names will live in our history with John Brown."

NEW YORK, Sept. 2.—The following statement on civil liberties in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case was issued today by the American Civil Liberties Union:

While the eyes of the world were focused on the central figures of the recent tragedy in Massachusetts, the police authorities of many of the larger cities in the United States engaged in activities which, summed up, constitute an all-time all-American record for the ruthless violation of the constitutional rights of free speech and assembly.

**Peaceful Pilgrimage Smashed**

Outstanding instances of the legalized violence which brought about this condition include the following:

Scores of protesters who joined the first caravan from New York to Boston on August 10 were arrested and roughly treated by the Boston police when they attempted to parade or hold protest meetings the next day on historic Boston Common. Permits for meetings in public places were denied by the police who also prevented the holding of meetings in private halls by intimidating the owners into refusing to rent them.

**Outrage Against Hapgood**

Powers Hapgood, miner and Harvard graduate, was arrested and released on bail on several occasions when he attempted to address Sacco-Vanzetti sympathizers on Boston Common. Arrested on a charge of speaking without a permit, he was fined and then charged with unlawful assembly and attacking an officer. The arresting officer testified that Hapgood had not attacked him but he was nevertheless sentenced on the charge to six months in prison. His case was appealed and while he was out on bail, he was again seized by authorities and taken to the psychiatric ward of a Boston hospital where his clothes were taken away from him and he was held a prisoner. After many hours of deliberation, learned doctors of the hospital were forced to admit that Hapgood was normal and above the average in intelligence. He was released. Later, (Continued on page 3)

**Profits of War  
Trust Stagger  
The Imagination**

America's new war-making trust, composed of the Munition Trust (the du Ponts), the Steel Trust, gigantic manufacturer of armor for battleships and other war material, and the Auto Trust, or General Motors, which will supply the mobile machinery of the Next War, is furnishing the people of America a foretaste of its future power and ability to extract profits. These members of this combination have become the supreme profiteers of America, even in present so-called peace times. They stand at the head of the profiteers column in Wall Street, furnishing a spectacle of the greatest interest in war profiteering, the greatest urge toward war and the greatest war-making influence America has ever seen.

General Motors cleared \$129,000,000 in the first half of this year. That is the biggest peace time profit ever made in the same period by any corporation in the world, and is surpassed only by steel trust profits in 1916.

The du Pont interests, which control General Motors, have bought in the last few weeks 114,000 shares of United States Steel common. While not a controlling interest, this gives the du Ponts tremendous influence in steel policies.

The discovery of this buy by the du Ponts sent U. S. Steel to a price of \$134.50 per share for common stock, the highest on record, when the recent 40 per cent stock dividend is taken into consideration.

Seventy-eight Millions a Week. That jump in price added \$78,000,000 to the market value of the Steel Corporation in a single week. This boost did not come because Steel is doing any more business, for it isn't. It is purely a market affair. The du Ponts have been such lucky investors that the discovery of their buying into any corporation sends up a stock. Ultimately, of course, the public will pay; the investing public if the stock goes down, the consuming public if high prices manage to keep the stock up.

The rise of the du Ponts in the financial world has been spectacular. Prior to the war they dealt in chemicals and munitions, especially munitions; and stuck pretty close to their knitting. The war brought them such gigantic profits that they had to branch out somewhere, and they got a big interest in General Motors.

There are 8,000,000 shares of common stock of General Motors outstanding. It is a question whether these shares represent a single dollar of invested money. Certainly a large part of them were issued as stock dividends.

But the earnings of General Motors for the first six months of this year equalled \$14.35 a share on every share of this "watered" stock.







# NEWS AND VIEWS

## McCray Released

Former Governor Warren T. McCray of Indiana, convicted and sentenced to ten years in a federal prison for the crime of "using the mails in furtherance of a scheme to defraud," has been released after serving exactly one-third of the sentence. Apparently he is in good health, giving credit to the report circulated about a year ago that the president contemplated pardoning him on account of his ill health. No evidence has appeared to show that McCray's release was anything else than one of those friendly little deals among politicians, after they feel that the original scandal has blown over and the public has forgotten.

About a year ago, the immortal Eugene V. Debs pointed out in an editorial in the American Appeal, at a time when McCray's prospective release was being discussed, the contrast between the attitude of our capitalist government toward criminals or felons, like McCray, and the lofty minded, unselfish and courageous fighters for the working class who dared to lift their voices against the existing order or its established authority.

McCray's early release is perfectly understandable. Not only he is one of the gang and undoubtedly a "good fellow," but he proved by his filthy and inflammatory ravings of idealists and champions of the workers that he was an essential "patriot." He is the man who incited by his mendacious and inflammatory remarks Legionnaire "Justice" which led almost to the mobbing of the great humanitarian, McCray is a fair example of the stuff out of which "super patriots" are made.

It is significant of the present class character of American "justice" that McCray's release follows the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. It follows the break down of attempts to bring former Attorney General Clegg, former Secretary of the Interior Fall to justice. Doherty and Sinclair are still outside of prison. Debs the real lover of his country, the real fighter for true democracy to his last breath, is in prison, while McCray the convicted swindler.

## Prosperity Slipping

Our friend, George R. Kirkpatrick, sends in a marked financial picture of the Chicago Herald-Examiner. Three days right together in business news this information. Only 190 furnaces out of 362—52 per cent—are now in operation. There was a net loss of eight furnaces during the month. The steel trade is now running at 65 per cent of its capacity. The railroads of the whole country have 291,287 empty cars they are not using now. This is an increase in surplus cars of 8,561 over the preceding week.

The average worker and voter doesn't read the financial page. He reads the headlines in the front page that tell about the "unexplained and growing prosperity of the nation." On the financial page they slip the real truth over to the business men.

As a matter of fact, prosperity of the capitalist brand is slipping precipitously all over the country. American capitalism with its enormous machinery of production again finds itself choking on its own surplus and will have to throw down and throw millions out of work. It has a surplus because it limits the purchasing power of the people by paying as small wages as possible and they can't buy all they produce. The owners limit the purchasing power of the people in order to make profits by increasing production and decreasing consumption at one and the same time. It is a species of economic suicide that will finally put an end to the present system, and pave the way for a system based on production for use and not for profit. It says the workers all they produce so that they can buy back the entire product and have no unsalable surplus to clog the wheels of industry.

## How Wars Are Made

The American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai has just had an outbreak which plainly shows the stuff out of which imperialism is produced and how wars are made. The Nationalist government in Shanghai slapped on a high tariff in order to raise funds to win the war. It was a high war tariff, a very common thing among the "advanced" and "civilized" nations. The Shanghai American Chamber of Commerce, as everywhere, is composed of profit takers. This tariff interfered with the sacred process of taking profits. Although it was an emergency tariff to save a country in a critical condition and has hundreds of "civilized" precedents with which to justify itself, that didn't make a bit of difference with the hard boiled American profit-takers of Shanghai. They immediately cabled to the usually obliging administration in Washington and "demanded" that the tariff be lowered. "The tariff is not ours—demanded that American marines now on duty in China be used to prevent China from enforcing increased tariff rates on United States goods."

The quotation is in the exact words of the news dispatch telling of the event. It means that in the eyes of capitalist traders and imperialists living as "guests" in other countries, the perfectly legitimate and correct use of the army and navy to enforce tariff schedules in other countries, even in time of civil war, if these tariffs interfere with the sacred profits of Americans abroad. This is exactly the same doctrine that Coolidge stated in relation to the Nicaraguan situation. We know now how faithfully he expressed the views of capitalist-imperialists. This is war stuff and a striking revelation of the war-making process.

## Mexican And American Labor

The General Confederation of Labor in Mexico has just completed a notable convention in Mexico City. There were representatives of 2,000,000 organized workers present—2,000,000 trade unionists in this one federation in a country of only 15,000,000 inhabitants. If the workers of the United States were as extensively organized the American Federation of Labor would have 15,000,000 affiliated members, instead of 3,900,000. The reports at the convention showed that a large percentage of the membership of the Confederation of Labor is farmer or peasant. This organization upheld and reinforced socialist political stand. It is political as well as industrial, voting solidly the Labor ticket and constituting the chief power behind the present Calles government. Already it has secured one of the best set of labor laws in the world and has helped put through many beneficial Social and agrarian measures. It has been the power behind the restoration of 15,000,000 formerly monopolized acres to the peasants.

Why this difference in the Labor movements of Mexico and the United States? bordering countries? How comes it that the relatively backward country, the semi-industrialized country has seven times the percentage of labor organization, has a much more advanced labor movement and has powerful political arm of labor? THE MAIN REASON IS THAT AMERICAN LABOR BECAME POLITICALLY ENSLAVED AT AN EARLY DATE—MERGED IN TWO CLOSELY RELATED AND ESSENTIALLY CAPITALISTIC PARTIES: THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. American labor leadership became so completely involved in these capitalist parties and so subordinated to them that, so far, American Labor almost alone in all the world has remained capitalist.

Capitalistic labor cannot take a stand independent stand even in the industrial field. It loses capitalism. It idealizes the capitalist industry—the very men it is forced at times to fight. It will never take an independent stand as long as it is capitalist against capitalism or the owners and leaders of capitalism. AND IF IS CAPITALISTIC INDUSTRY, POLITICALLY BECAUSE IT IS CAPITALISTIC POLITICALLY.

On the other hand, Mexican Labor recently emerged from a long and finally successful revolution which gave it an independent political consciousness. Mexican Labor is Socialist. American Labor is capitalist.

## Socialism Is The Opposite of Anarchy

The best government is that which governs least. In these or similar words is expressed the probable philosophy of Jeffersonian Democrats. They believe that government serves its citizens best which places the fewest restrictions on them, which allows them the fullest opportunity to live their own lives as they see fit, so long as they do not trespass on the rights of others. It is, indeed, the essence of the American theories of government.

Anarchists carry this theory to its logical extreme. The best government, according to philosophical anarchists, is no government at all. They visualize a state of society in which every person would be so considerate of his neighbor that no government would be required. Anarchy, in its true meaning, is a beautiful dream—and only that.

It is a very different thing from the average concept. The average person thinks of Socialism and Anarchy as closely related theories. But Socialism is the opposite of Anarchy. Your Socialist is one who would have all affairs of life managed by the government.

—Scripps-Howard Editorial.

## Editor's Note

Socialists advocate government ownership, municipal ownership and the building up of real cooperatives and cooperative systems as the logical natural and easiest steps to Socialism, but the final ideal of Socialism is a cooperative organization of the people to handle basic production and distribution APART AND SEPARATE FROM THE POLITICAL GOVERNMENT AND THE POLITICAL MACHINE. The Socialists have always held this ideal of a cooperative system, the COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH, OR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. It would probably render unnecessary much of the political machinery and political government we know today.

## Concerning Waste

Faulty governmental organization is costing the people \$500,000,000 annually, says the National Industrial Conference Board in a recent announcement. This board, which is composed of big capitalists and their retainers, said nothing about the waste from the faulty organization of industry. In faulty organization, general inefficiency, competitive duplication of efforts, advertising, fighting for trade, trust suppression and prevention of wealth production, stoppage or slackening of industry on account of the low purchasing power of the people, unemployment, lockouts and strikes, and the wasteful gutting of natural resources, the present system wastes more every year than it produces. It wastes more than the annual national income of 60 to 70 billion dollars. And these capitalists who maintain the system that does this try to rivet our attention on the paltry half billion a year wasted by THEIR inefficient government!

## Perpetuating Wealth by Inheritance

The American oligarchy of wealth is determined to perpetuate itself and fasten itself on the backs of the American people to the end of time by keeping its bloated fortunes intact at the death of the owners and handing them on to the unborn generations of the future. This fight at present centers on the federal inheritance tax which takes part of such fortunes for the use of society at the death of a magnate. The following editorial from Labor, Washington, D. C., throws considerable light on what the big interests are doing and intend to do shortly on this issue.

"Senator Smoot of Utah, 'Old Guard' Republican, declares that the Federal inheritance tax must be repealed at the next session of Congress. Senator Fletcher of Florida, Democrat, says substantially the same thing. Senator Smoot adds that several state legislatures have passed memorials asking that the Federal law be repealed and this source of revenue left to the states."

"To anyone who knows how such things are managed, this announcement is proof that the powerful and well-financed lobby which has been working for the repeal of the Federal inheritance tax has been clever enough to slip resolutions through the state legislatures without any real debate."

"The claim that this source of revenue should be left to the states is one of the most dishonest arguments ever made on behalf of anything. The state, acting separately, cannot make the inheritance tax function; because very rich men always can get legal residence in a state where there is no tax or a very small one."

"Florida has a provision in her constitution prohibiting the legislature from ever levying an inheritance tax. California and Colorado are said to be considering similar action. With four or five states exempting inheritances from taxation, all the biggest fortunes would go free."

"Only a Federal tax will work in this field, and a powerful combination in both parties has decreed that the Federal levy must go. It would be interesting to know just how much money has been collected to lobby against this law."

"The greatest fortunes the world ever knew are now held by a few old men. Each of them realizes that his time is short. Each of them wishes to hand down his 'kingdom' unimpeded. Collectively, they would give millions to repeal this law. Probably they have given millions; for the expenses have been heavy, and lobbyists who were poor when the repeal movement started are well to do now."

"For example, how much has Frank Mondell of Wyoming, once Republican leader in the House, received during the last two or three years for his attacks on the inheritance tax?"

"The fight will be a hot one. Every progressive in both parties will line up against repeal; but repeal must come, nevertheless, unless the people wake up and make their wishes felt."

"The inheritance tax is a just and wise means of raising revenue; but it is more than a means of maintaining liberty. The government piled up in late years are a menace to free institutions. If allowed to grow and consolidate by inheritance, they will constitute financial empires that may wreck the republic."

Make ready to fight for the inheritance tax!

## Muscle Shoals

Make Muscle Shoals a yardstick to measure power costs by having it publicly owned and operated, says Senator Norris. Since Muscle Shoals is already owned by the government, one may well wonder why such an obviously intelligent and just plan is not carried out. The answer is very simple: The private power interests know that a measuring stick of actual costs would put them out of business. If the people knew the half the truth about public versus private ownership of power, private ownership would be abolished in a few years.

## Worse Than War

That American capitalism has the nice little habit of casting its disabled women workers in the scrap heap to starve and die, when they meet with accidents in industry, is admitted by the Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. This government bureau reports that it interviewed 385 of the 536 permanently injured in one year and a very large per cent, the government does not say how large, were denied re-employment in the industries in which they suffered injuries in line of duty. They don't treat the wounded that way, even in war. Capitalistic exploitation is more barbarous than war.

## Stop This Robbery

Land values have decreased from 78 billion dollars after the war to 66 billion dollars—a total loss to the nation of \$22,000,000,000 from this source alone. During the same period interest and dividends to capitalists more than doubled annually, increasing to about \$5,000,000,000 a year. It was a clear case of where the farmers' stolen values went. During the same period, according to government reports, the productivity of Labor increased twice as much as its income increased. Farmers and other workers should unite politically and stop this robbery.

## Business Men Limit Output

(From the American Federation of Labor News Service Bulletin)  
Talk of business men limiting production a few years ago would be considered treasonable.

Now it is safe to discuss a subject that is given the soothing title, "stabilizing output." War was, however, still exempt from the new system. Any suggestion by them to shorten the work week is opposed.

Southern cotton growers publicly agreed last year to reduce this crop, and bankers refused to extend loans when the agreement was broken. Only recently a cabinet official called on farmers to "stabilize output," and oil operators are now discussing a nationwide check on oil production that endangers prices.

These business men are encouraged by the inaction of the government in the case of oil operators in the Seminole field of Oklahoma who appointed an oil czar to limit their output. The plan was cautiously launched, and as no public protest was made, it is proposed to extend the scheme.

The business men's new viewpoint is one of the many revolutionary changes that are taking place in industry and which seem to be unnoticed by the general public.

## Waste and Lunacy In Coal Industry

Stuart Chase, John Brophy and W. S. Rauschenbusch have told about the waste, poverty, unemployment, inefficiency and lunacy in the coal industry. The story is an old one, but these men are publicly labeled as radicals, and who can believe a radical? Harper Leech, however, has no taint of radicalism in his blood. He is a business reviewer for the Chicago Tribune, and what does he say about the coal industry? He says that under present methods of operation "40 per cent of recoverable coal in many mines will be left in the ground forever, because the inefficient mine must skim the cream to live."

Moreover, he says that with effective organization of the industry, coal can be produced at anywhere from 25 per cent to 50 per cent lower cost than at present and at the same time eliminate the waste. When will such an organization be effected? In his opinion it will be effected by the workers. The public will pay more, in order to insure profits on the additional capital invested for a consolidation of the industry. It is a charming prospect! If it were not sacrificed by the fascinating name of individualistic industry it must be to have come from a lunatic asylum.

—From The Baptist Church Organ, Chicago.

How many know that two states in the Union own and operate a railway. We didn't know it until a Salt Lake City newspaper conveyed the information in answer to a question that Georgia and Texas each own and operate a railway. It is dangerous news. It might hurt the railway interests. We are sorry we had to mention it.

## Bloody Nation-Wide Protest Suppression

(Continued from page 1)

at a gathering on the Common, a policeman recognized him and slapped him in the face, saying "We are tired of arresting you."

Hapgood's sentence of six months' imprisonment is now on appeal.

Miss Mary Donovan, secretary of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment by a Boston Municipal Court judge. She was placed in a placard among the floral offerings to the two dead men which read: "Did you see what I did to those two anarchist bastards?" Judge Thayer.

She was charged with attempting to incite a riot and disturbing the peace. This was thought to be the first appearance of Judge Webster Thayer as an author of anarchistic literature.

Describing the actions of the Boston police as "needless, unprovoked brutality," Creighton J. Hill, a letter to the Boston Herald, gives the following description of the breaking up of a meeting on Boston Common:

"In fifteen years of newspaper reporting, I have never witnessed a scene equaling that on Boston Common this afternoon for needless, unprovoked brutality on the part of the Boston police. I saw one woman knocked down by a blow from a policeman as she was trying to move away. Had there been the least sign of mob danger to warrant Superintendent Crowley's conduct, it might have been at least understandable. But there was not the slightest pretext for what took place. No disorder had occurred. Neither the people in charge of the meeting nor the audience showed the slightest evidence of inciting to riot or in any way doing more than engage in the exercise of their constitutional right of free speech."

## Even Attack Funeral

Consistently following this policy of brutality all during the period of protests against the murders in Boston, the police did not show the slightest feeling of humanity, even in the presence of death. When the funeral cortege went through the city, its way near the state house was blocked off by torn-up streets and city trucks turned sideways and stalled. Mounted policemen rode repeatedly behind the hearse, swinging their clubs and injuring many.

## Brutalities In New York

In New York, meetings which took place in Union Square were treated in the same manner, hundreds of policemen hedging about the speakers and audience while mounted troops waited a few paces away for the order to charge—and the order was frequently given. At one time, a young woman who had not participated in the meeting but who was passing across Union Square was knocked

# APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

## Between Bernstein and Lenin

In XII Articles

Article VIII

By Ernest Untermann

Back in the nineties of the last century, Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein tried to straighten out some kinks in the Marxian economics and dialectics. But neither of them had a science of thinking that could be used in practice. Just as Molier's bourgeois gentleman talked prose all his life without knowing its science, so Kautsky and Bernstein discussed a question of mental dialectics without a science of thinking. Naturally they raised a lot of heat by friction, but did not settle anything. They became personal enemies, instead. Only quite recently, in a maudlin mood to make up, Kautsky forgave himself all the insults which he had hurled at Bernstein as a result of the war and the German revolution.

Bernstein said in that famous debate that he had gradually changed his mind about Marxian economics and historical materialism. He had told Engels so. His conviction was that Marxian economics needed a thorough overhauling, that the middle class was not falling into the proletariat as Marx had prophesied, and that the minds of the workers did not reflect changes in economics as simply as they should according to Marx.

## Bernstein's Position

From these partly true premises Bernstein urged that the class antagonisms were on the whole getting softer. The Socialist party should therefore drop all tactics that aimed more or less indirectly at a violent climax or waited for a catastrophe. The Socialist should talk less of the final theoretical aim of Socialism and work more at the possible democratization of social institutions under capitalism. They should not talk so much about materialist dialectics which were unintelligible to most workers, but devote themselves more to applying them in practical education of the workers for the every-day tasks or organization in the shops and offices.

"Could this be done without science?" Well, said Bernstein, Socialism is a living way from being a practical science. The majority of the workers will never be scientists. It is all right to develop Socialism into a better science and carry more and more of it into the daily work of the workers. But until it is better settled between Marxians just what their science claims and does, they had better talk it over among themselves and not confuse the workers with so much philosophizing over theories. Even philosophical questions should be left to experts.

## Kautsky's Reply

This acted on Kautsky like a red flag on a Wall Street bull. He prided himself on his scientific Marxism. He was not at all a practical man. He went to Bernstein with all the skill of a Marxian boxer. It was a great scrap, but it left little useful information for the practical problems of the labor movement. Kautsky's reply was that Bernstein's viewpoint was going just about as Marx and Engels had predicted. If the middle class was not falling into the proletariat, at least it was losing its economic significance and political influence. (Close the capitalist's mouth, he was getting hard.) The party should stick to the "historic-crowned revolutionary tactic" of "no compromise, no political trading" which Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel had inaugurated. There was no compromise, no political trading. Liebknecht was a clever politician, who knew the value of compromise. And Wilhelm Liebknecht, who wrote "No Compromise, No Political Trading,"

was unconscious by an excited policeman. She was picked up by employees of a bank on the square and taken into the offices where they gave her first aid.

In August 23, the police used horses, motorcycles and fire apparatus to charge into a crowd of 10,000 or more persons who, after holding a memorial service, attempted to parade behind the automobile which carried Mrs. Rose Sacco, widow of Nicola Sacco. Many persons were injured.

On August 9, police attacked students of the New York City College who were holding a protest meeting on the campus. The students were roughly handled and placards which they carried were torn from their hands.

Some Chicago Outrages  
In Chicago, permits for meetings were refused and use of private halls withheld by the same method practiced by the Boston police—intimidation. For passing out a strike to save Sacco and Vanzetti, seventy persons were arrested by the police shortly before the execution. Included among

said he would change his tactics a hundred times a day, if he could do it without violating the Socialist principles. But if anybody told him that he had violated a Socialist principle by a political deal, Liebknecht said: "What I do in defense of the principle, can't be a violation of principle. In other words, every principle has to be bent to suit purposes. And that is, indeed, the actual practice of minority parties and can't be helped. A Socialist principle is no dogma. It is only a expression of a general rule which has many exceptions."

Bernstein's renunciation of historical materialism and return to Kantian mysticism seemed a crime to Kautsky, exceeded only by Bernstein's doubt of the class of Marxian dialectics. So there the fat was in the fire. The old animosities perpetuated themselves and dragged along, until in 1902 Lenin came along and picked a quarrel with Kautsky over tactics.

## Lenin Urges Revolution By Minority

Lenin treated Kautsky just as Kautsky had treated Bernstein. The true Marxian, Lenin said, was himself. Kautsky was only a little German bourgeois posing as a revolutionist. A real he-man of the revolution will not play the futile and tiresome game of opposition in parliament.

Lenin cited chapter and verse from Marx. He wasn't squishy about tearing Marx's sentences out of their context. Marx said in The Communist Manifesto that the proletarian will socialize capitalist private property by force. In his Capital he had written: "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power." In Marx's text, these statements were part of a historical view which figured on the expropriation of a small minority of exploiters by a majority of another class rising irresistibly to power as a climax of mature social development. Lenin believed in violent revolution by a minority regardless of historical conditions. He said: "We don't have to wait for a majority. A daring minority can start a revolution at any time, regardless of the stage of maturity in which that or that nation or capitalism is. We must seize the day. We can democratize and socialize later."

Kautsky's Answer to Lenin  
Kautsky replied truly that this would not be a social revolution in the Marxian sense. It would be an artificial political revolution which an economic revolution, just the sort of thing that Marx had ridiculed all his life. But Lenin didn't care. He insisted that his perversion of Marx was true Marxism, and that Kautsky was trying to make a bourgeois of Marx.

So Kautsky, the recognized disciple of Marx and Engels, the authorized trustee and executor of their literary testament, suddenly found himself between Bernstein's opportunism and Lenin's radicalism, fighting for the recognition of that Marxism which was undoubtedly in substance identical with that of Marx and Engels. Unfortunately, Kautsky, in the course of his growth from a Malthusian Darwinian to a Marxian, had put many contradictory versions of the views of historical materialism and of the driving force of technique and other economic elements into the world. And so he fell himself a victim of the flaws which Marx and Engels had left in their work. Kautsky was rather rather when the expected happened in 1917 and 1918, and when the Russian, Hungarian, Austrian and German Socialists and Communists had to proclaim a minority revolution in politics without being able to follow it up with an economic revolution.

These political revolutions after the world war were abnormal. They came as a result of a military breakdown of the national armies. They offer

little information on what will happen when a majority, in a climax of capitalism's normal development, will seize the political power and begin to socialize the industries. But the Leninists proclaimed their style of revolution the model of the coming early world revolution, which would presently be copied by all revolutionary workers.

## Lenin Becomes Compromiser

This piffle soon had to be dropped. The natural result of a political minority revolution in an undeveloped capitalist country with an overwhelming majority of farmers quickly came home to Lenin and his friends. He sounded the retreat and covered it with a lot of noise about "the new economic policy," which was in fact the old policy of the minority making concessions to the capitalist majority when nothing else is practicable.

Nevertheless, it is true that Lenin's mistake is a natural result of the flaws in the Marxian reasoning, which are due partly to the natural growth of a new set of ideas step by step, partly to the fact that the Marxian dialectic never had the benefit of a science of thinking. And this whole experience showed that even Kautsky, the dean of Marxian science, cannot make concessions to the capitalist majority without first improving his dialectics.

## Kautsky Brought to Test

Kautsky became German secretary of state during the revolution. In that position, faced by the practical problems of the day, he did just what Bernstein had advised him twenty years earlier to do. He didn't find any advice, either in the Marxian economics or in the Marxian dialectics, and so he did what everybody, even liberal old party statesmen, but the old parties would have done in that situation. The theoretical radical became a practical Bernsteinian, who let science be science and grabbed the first straw that came along. Fortunately it was a hefty straw and helped him up. It was the German trade union majority, that had gone along its stubborn practical way, just like the British labor movement, not paying much attention to Kautsky's Marxian scolding. Its leaders did not claim to be Marxians. They knew what to do when the Kaiser ran away and the Communists tried to start a minority revolution. They were practical men sharpened by daily contact with the disagreeable facts which Kautsky knew only from hearsay. They didn't have a science of thinking any more than Kautsky, but they had something that Kautsky did not have with all his Marxian dialectics. They had good judgment.

## First Step in Improvement of Marxism

However, Bernstein was wrong when he refused to improve the Marxian science along the way that Marx, Engels and Kautsky had traveled. Running back to Kant did not help the workers any more than throwing doubts on the Marxian A.B.C. The Marxian science can and must be improved. The Marxian science must be made available for practical use in the daily labor struggle. Its flaws and inconsistencies must be removed, so that the workers can question it no longer in behalf of foolish adventure.

The bourgeois have to cook their radical soup with opportunist water, just like the despised Bernsteinians and middle of the road Marxians. Force, the midwife of capitalism, is not a good thing. Socialism cannot do any good by interfering before the baby is ready to be born. Society abhors a vacuum just as much as nature does. And the worst vacuum that needs filling right now is the vacuum in some Marxian heads between natural, social and mental laws of evolution. As a first step in this direction, they might familiarize themselves with Josef Dietzgen's work.

and Vanzetti and the honor of her country. She is the sole support of a crippled husband. When she was released in May and continued her agitation, she was arrested a second and a third time and finally confined in the psychopathic ward of a hospital as in the case of Power Hapgood. As also in the case of Power Hapgood, the doctors were forced to report her sane and above the average in intelligence. She is now awaiting trial for inciting to riot and is out under bonds totalling \$2,400.

Washington Bares Fangs  
In Washington, D. C., two outstanding instances reveal the trend of the official mind of free speech and civil liberty. Representative Albert Johnson, Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, issued a warning that aliens who participated in Sacco-Vanzetti protests would be arrested and deported. Mrs. Lenora H. Jones, a Quaker, 53 years old, was indefinitely suspended from her position as a tourist guide in the Capitol Building, because she remarked that she would be willing to die herself to save the lives of Sacco

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## Sign On The Dotted Line And Get Things Started

### Sub-A-Month Membership Pledge

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I hereby agree to obtain for the American Appeal in the future at least one subscription per month, or its equivalent. Enroll me in the Organized Army of the American Appeal.

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# Detroit Trolleys Prove Public Ownership

## Make Money for City While Charging Low Fares, Making Vast Improvements And Giving Splendid Service

### Editor's Note

In the last two numbers of the American Appeal were articles telling of the phenomenal success of public ownership in Sweden and under the Labor Government of Queensland, Australia. But we do not have to go outside of capitalistic America to find conspicuous proof that public ownership is essentially superior to private ownership in the operation of utilities and industries.

In many ways America's outstanding example of the success of public ownership is found in the municipally-owned street railway system of Detroit, Michigan. Detroit has more than a million inhabitants and is one of the fastest growing cities in America. A street railway system in an industrial city of this size, is a great industry itself employing thousands and encountering all the difficult problems of a great modern industry. It presents far more difficult problems than the public ownership of utilities less industrial in character, such as waterworks, or power and lighting plants, or even telephone systems. In these latter utilities there are many examples of successful public ownership in the United States, but in street railway public ownership and operation, examples are few in America. The success of a publicly owned street railway system is like America branching out into public ownership in the industrial field.

The following article is particularly valuable because it is from the pen of a capitalistic newspaper correspondent.

and does not represent the effort of a propagandist trying to appear to be more successful than it really is. Undoubtedly under a better, cleaner and less capitalistic political system than we have in America today, the municipal system described here could be made much more successful even than it now is.

—M. E. K.

After five years experience with municipally owned street railways, Detroit finds itself with one of the cheapest and best systems ever operated. Not only has the city-owned railway given unusually good service, but it has actually earned a big profit in those five years. It has been subjected to all sorts of criticism, within and without the city, but it is now in a position to refute such criticism with facts and figures that cannot be disputed.

The fare has never been more than six cents, with a penny transfer, paid by about one-third the riders. For a time the system subsisted on a 5-cent fare—the only one in the country with so low a rate. Upon that fare, the company's records show the following major accomplishments:

All expenses have been paid and the company has earned a profit of \$12,000,000, which has been applied to reduce its bonded debt. This is the sum which had the company valued because it would have been paid to them in dividends. In

stead, it goes back to the pockets of citizens.

Moreover, the company carries all of the expenses common to private companies. It pays \$700,000 a year in taxes. It owns streets between the tracks and, because Detroit is widening many streets, this item has amounted to more than \$1,000,000. There can be no subsidy from other city funds. The street railways company is created by its charter a thing apart from the city government. Its only money comes from the fare of its riders.

**Problem of Growth to Meet**  
As to service, perhaps no city in the country, during the five years, has presented so harassing a problem in transit as Detroit. Detroit is the fastest growing American city. New thousands were appearing monthly demanding to be carried. New residence sections were being built rapidly. Keeping pace with growth of the city was a task nothing short of stupendous.

The city-owned railways, in the five years, has bought or contracted to buy 600 new street cars. Buses were placed in service to new residence districts—210 of them, most of them, pneumatic tires, traveling at a speed of 180 miles. Approximately 27 miles of street car track extensions were built. The residence area served by the street cars and buses has been doubled in the five years.

The property that Mayor Couzens bought in 1922 from the De-

troit United Railways was in bad repair. During the years in which the city and company had been in litigation, the company had permitted the property to deteriorate, spending virtually nothing for maintenance, disbursing all earnings in dividends. In the five years that followed purchase, the city has rebuilt an average of 100 miles of overhead trolleys each year. It is repainting old cars at the rate of 80 a month. So far this year 10 miles of track have been reconstructed in modern, heavy, rail fashion. Five new power substations have been built. The property today is in better physical shape than at any time in its history. The dense traffic of Detroit presents operating difficulties. In previous years the average speed of Detroit street cars is the highest of the large cities in the country.

**Subway Plan Proposed**  
No one pretends that service is satisfactory in all sections and to all of the city. Detroit recognizes that it is outgrowing surface transportation and its Rapid Transit Commission was ready this year to submit the first unit of a \$250,000,000 subway plan. The vote was postponed from last April, because Detroit at the time was suffering from partial industrial depression. Moreover, street-widening projects had placed a burden upon property and it was felt that the burden should not be increased until the city had recovered from the depression. In previous years, legislation required for the establish-

ment of subways, voters have by 70-

per cent indicated their desire for rapid transit.

The surface lines, in their prosperity, are expected to contribute something to rapid transit. Any subway which Detroit may build will be co-ordinated with the surface lines, which, by 1931, will have paid off the last of the \$19,000,000 paid to the old private company for its property. There will remain only \$22,000,000 of debt, money spent by the city in building municipal lines before the private company surrendered. The railway then will find itself financially able to reduce fares, though this is not likely. The city feels that 6 cents is not too much and that surplus should be stored for expenditure for rapid transit. One cent in fare will produce \$3,500,000 annually.

There remains one charge frequently aimed at the municipally operated system of the city: interference with the street.

The correspondent suggested as much to one of the three citizens who serve without pay as street car commissioners.

**Politics Charge Denied**  
He exploded. "We are appointed by the Mayor, but we take orders from no one, the Mayor included," the commissioner said. "We run this system as we would our own business. We do not permit politics to enter the street-car business."

The same question was put to D. A. Smith, general manager. Smith has been with the Detroit railways for 24 years, so that his appointment cannot be regarded as of po-

litical favor. He came out of the ranks. Smith said that his conduct of the company was not embarrassed by political requests. "We have 6500 employees," he said. "The turnover has been reduced to less than 1-2 of 1 per cent a month, a record which many private industries envy. We pay, with Chicago, the highest wages in the country to our trainmen. Politics, in the meaning that is intended in the criticism, may be said to be virtually absent."

Senator Couzens, during his operation of the railways, often said that the Mayor who would play politics with the railways was a fool. "Good street car service will give a Mayor greater strength with his people than any political machine," Couzens said.

**Situation at Present**  
It is true that the present city administration, from time to time, has been charged with playing politics. It is likely that there are more politics in the Detroit railways now than at any time since the city bought them, but it also is true that no ill effect has yet been felt upon service or the freedom of the managers of the railways to conduct its vital affairs.

Detroit required many years to acquire its railways. The city and riders were dissatisfied with service and the lack of desire of the owners of the railways to better it. There grew up a definite sentiment that over 50 per cent of the representatives of labor or Socialist in the Mayor's office. Couzens asked \$5,000,000 for the construction of new

lines which the growing community needed, but which the private company was unwilling to build. When the money was voted, Couzens began a war of extinction upon the old company.

**Fight to Take Over Lines**  
He cast longing eyes on the Woodward avenue and Fourth street lines, comparable in revenue importance to the Olive and Broadway lines in St. Louis, which he desired to lop off the private companies and annex to the city lines. There had intervened a fortuitous event. The franchise of these lines had expired. They were being operated upon day-to-day permits and Couzens made overtures to the company for purchase of its property—its entire property. The company demanded approximately \$35,000,000, an exorbitant price. Couzens scaled it down to \$20,000,000 and asked the public to ratify the price. It refused. The price still was too high.

Couzens accepted the verdict and intensified his war against the company. He ordered it to remove its tracks from Woodward avenue. That started the legal struggle which required eight years for an issue. In 1921, the United States Supreme Court held that the company was without a franchise and the city, if it chose, could tear up the Woodward avenue tracks. The company capitulated. Couzens drove a hard bargain. He haggled down the \$20,000,000 original demand of the company to a price of \$19,000,000 and the city took over the lines.

## Debate: Best Way to Unite Voters to Remedy Conditions

### Editor's Note

After a week devoted to the Labor Day issue of the Appeal, we now turn to the series of questions put by Tolley Hartwick, a farmer of Merced, Montana. We will now take up the first point or question contained in a letter from Mr. Hartwick of August 14.

### By Tolley Hartwick

(Merced, Montana)

The two old political parties have thousands of able, noble men in their ranks, but both of them are helplessly strangled by the cunning, the pen-gamut from well-to-do boot-legging. It therefore seems hopeless for the American farmer to realize any relief through their action.

So I am watching intently to see whether the Socialist leaders may not seize upon the political opening before them, and when the time comes when Roman financiers parasites crushed in the ruin of that ancient empire. I am hoping they will be so shrewd as to concentrate on a definite project that will WIN THE HEARTS OF MAJORITIES, rather than the political field. No matter if a doctrine be heaven-inspired, it cannot get to first base unless it appeals to ELECTORAL MAJORITIES. So I yield to friends and letters from several states, and keep trying to make suggestions for the APPEAL, showing a disposition to be fair, intelligent and willing to entertain "free discussion" and to consider the opinions of its friends.

### Editor's Reply

The Socialist Party without doubt would be glad to give prominence to any issue that would really ameliorate the condition of the farmer in a manner just to all, but the Socialist Party, in doing so, cannot abandon or slight the main issue which is the whole world-wide Socialist movement based—THE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF ALL PRODUCTIVE WORKERS OF HAND AND BRAIN, ON THE FARMS AND IN THE CITIES.

Mr. Hartwick proposes a single reform—the nationalization of interest by means of a tax that would absorb the interest on fiat money. He would have us keep other issues in the background, while we were uniting a majority to put over this single proposal.

I offer the following objections to such a program:  
Being only one method, out of many possible methods of remedying present evils, and proposing the remedying of only one series of evils out of many, it presents a MINIMUM condition for unity instead of the MAXIMUM condition for disagreement and division, instead of the MINIMUM. In other words, it is an issue that would do more to DIVIDE than to UNITE.

In the first place, you never could get the majority of the farmers to agree on this particular way of remedying the situation, while on the other hand, the majority of farmers, no doubt already agree that the interest burden should be lifted from their backs, but that the money system should be nationalized. Most of the expressions I have heard in the past, favoring the nationalization of money along the lines laid down by the American Constitution, which says that Congress shall have the power to issue money. Other farmers would have other ideas of HOW TO DO IT. It might be comparatively easy to educate the majority to agree that THE INTEREST BURDEN SHOULD BE LIFTED, but there would inevitably be many different ideas as to how to realize this. The Appeal has already pointed out that the direct and logical thing to do is to establish the government ownership of the money and banking system at once and operate it for the benefit of all the people at the cost of the service. If

we confiscated interest by means of a tax, this is what we would have to do anyway, as such a tax would put the private bankers and loan agencies out of business.

The second place, it would be impossible to get a majority of the people, or even a majority of the farmers, to agree that the MONEY QUESTION should be stressed at the expense of all other questions. I am sure that many farmers who feel sure that the first big thing we should tackle is the government ownership of railroads. These men would not be willing to see the railroad issue pushed into the background. At present an actual majority of the farmers seem to be agreed that some bill embodying the idea of government ownership of railroads, should be passed. This is the only bill that has been introduced in the American Congress that has received a majority of the farmers' support over all other bills.

But if there are all these DIVERSE elements connected with the selection of Mr. Hartwick's SPECIFIC issue, it is hardly probable that the farmers would be able to agree that some bill embodying the idea of government ownership of railroads, should be passed. This is the only bill that has been introduced in the American Congress that has received a majority of the farmers' support over all other bills.

The narrower you make an issue the more you divide people. The broader you make a struggle the more you tend to unite the common victims in that struggle. In the midst of a struggle such as we have in America YOU CANNOT PULL THE MAJORITY OF THE VICTIMS AWAY FROM THE STRUGGLE AND GET THEM TO PUT THEIR FULL FIGHTING STRENGTH IN SOME LITTLE PHASE OF THAT STRUGGLE. The smaller that phase the harder would be your task.

What, then, is to be done? YOU HAVE TO FORMULATE THE MAJOR DEMANDS AT THE BOTTOM OF THAT STRUGGLE AND KEEP YOUR COLORS FLYING. In broad outline the struggle in America is that the real producers—on farms and in factories and mines—are rendered dependent and subservient and are ROBBED through the CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT BY THE ROBBERS. We are HELD UP industrially because we are HELD DOWN politically. We are up against the broad

fact of social CONTROL. We couldn't be robbed if the exploiting interests did not control in law and government. We cannot stop the robbery except by removing this AVERAGE control and establishing OUR OWN control.

Reforms, whether they be money reforms, tax reforms, railroad reforms, marketing reforms, will turn out to be a huge joke and disappointment IF WE LEAVE THE SYSTEM UNDER ITS PRESENT CONTROL. Our painfully established reforms will either become impotently or will be repealed or set aside by those who control against us.

With CONTROL in our hands, we can make our reforms good; we can correct our own mistakes, learn by experience and certainly in time establish the conditions we want and can maintain them. There is only one question then confronting us. IT IS CONTROL BY THE PRODUCERS OF GOVERNMENT SO THAT THEY CAN CONTROL IN PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION AND ESTABLISH THE CONDITIONS THEY WANT. They can't get it, or maintain the conditions they want in any other way.

Control by the people of their own affairs is the broadest and most unifying issue that exists and the least divisive. It is pure democracy. The only thing that will ever unite the majority of the farmers, wage earners, and other producers and useful people is the fundamental proposition THAT THEY ARE IN THEIR PRESENT CONDITION BECAUSE THEY HAVE LOST CONTROL OF THEIR OWN AFFAIRS AND THAT THEY CAN HAVE ANY CONDITION THEY WANT BY ESTABLISHING CONTROL OF THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.

Once we are anchored to this basic revolutionary fact, reforms acquire real significance and are useful in interesting and educating and uniting people. BUT REFORM NOT PRECIPITATED ON SOCIAL CONTROL IS A DELUSION. A QUAGMIRE SOURCE OF ENDLESS DIVISION. This is proved by the steady, permanent rise of the Socialist movement to the strongest political movement in the world. The Socialist movement has won first and second political place in most of the civilized countries of the world, regardless of adversity or slow growth and divisive effects of scattered reform, because it has held steadfastly to the program of UNITING THE PEOPLE FOR THE CONTROL OF THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.

## BIG CORPORATION FARM NEXT MOVE IN AGRICULTURE

(The following article, headlines and all, is from the Lincoln Herald, Lincoln, Nebraska, an independent publication politically.)

The big farm is becoming a subject of much discussion of late. Not only a subject of discussion, but it is rapidly becoming a fact. Mass production is the order of the day. As the big loan institutions find it necessary to foreclose and take over the big farm will become more and more in evidence and the small individual farmer will pass out, a relic of a former crude and undeveloped agricultural era.

As new labor saving farm machinery comes into use the big farm will come with it. The new combined harvester and thrasher is hastening the change as much as the inability to pay the mortgage and as the sentiment for mass production increases. During this harvest time we read every day in the daily press of men harvesting two, three, six hundred acres of wheat all over this great state. The transition goes steadily on and the public will not realize it until the new alignment bursts in on

us suddenly like the Lindbergh feat. The foreclosures, the big loan companies will equip their large land possessions with motor power, hire a professional overseer from some college of agriculture and a few "hands" from among the dispossessed farmers and operate them by "business methods" and proceed to grow foodstuffs on the mass production plan.

In the interest of economy it is the right principle. Why an individual farm owner with a few acres of machinery and horses and buildings to raise the nation's food when one organization, one set of machinery and a very few men could farm the whole section, or two or three sections in less time than the individual can do it, can be better. Under present farming plans one man can plant, tend and harvest say 140 acres of wheat, corn and oats a year. In a few weeks, under the big farm plan two men with up to date machinery could plant, tend, harvest and thresh 640 acres in a few weeks' time. And still we wonder why farming does not pay.

Suppose the automobiles of the

country were built in little individual factories all over the land, how many of us would now be riding in limousines, fine sedans or even flyovers? Under such a system only the rich could ride in chauffeurs—and the poor would walk, bike, or the same method and would have to farm that applies to all lines of industry, and what will the little individual farmer do in competition with the big corporation farm? The same thing will likely befall him as befalls the individual factory operator—out of business or barely exist.

That is old stuff. In Nebraska 35 per cent of the farmers are tenants who are required to give up two-fifths to one-third of the products of their labor for an opportunity to earn a livelihood and have a roof to shelter them and their dependent families. Fully 85 per cent of the farm holders are mortgaged. Some of them will be retrieved after years of toil and sacrifice while many will surrender the land or be foreclosed, unable to clear it and have a home. The few who do not have 20 or 30 acres of land invested in land and chattels, work themselves and every member of the family, from the cradle to the age of majority, are deprived of many of the modern conveniences of urban life, come down to old age with enough to keep them on the poor farm, and have a few hundred cash for the children and grandchildren. It's a great game, this farm business under capitalism.

When the farm corporations get a monopoly on the food products and the country is full of dispossessed and tramp farmers, then what? That is one of the great questions that is coming on for solution in the very near future.

And what will be the solution? I allude to the fact that the farmer will have to go into the farming business to protect his people from robbery and starvation. If the old gent, the man can successfully operate a great army of 5 million souls, a great army, a great postal system and other great enterprises, he can farm all right. Where would our Uncle Samuel get his land to till? Take it from the great corporate monopolies, the money power that exploited it from the higher holders by means of deflation, high interest, manipulation of prices and a hundred other means which we cannot detail. To get a living or amass great riches without useful and productive labor. The time will come, perhaps to this generation, under present methods and the rate we are traveling when the populace will endorse and put through such a program. We must make right and, finally, when "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is in the balance.

Some of the wild ideas of socialism? No. Simply the work of nature in its march of progress and evolutionary antics. It is the only way out. Collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. There is no way to justify the present system of monopoly and profits and it must go the way of chattel slavery, John D. Rockefeller and other enslavements and debauches of the human race, mill stones about the neck of labor and stumbling blocks in the path of progress, civilization and Christianity.

A capitalistic headline says that Chicago is able to feed one-tenth of the United States. Chicago doesn't produce a pound of food from the soil, but it knows how to get the food away from the farmers.

The government now admits that the cost of living figures compiled monthly are unreliable and favor the capitalist interests against the workers. Undoubtedly government figures on income tax returns, distribution of wealth, wages, and the number of millionaires and billionaires, are manipulated to favor the interests and the political party in power, and prevent too much discontent, but the joke of it is that our capitalist government is forced to admit so much that its statistics damn the whole system. That is why the Appeal so often quotes govern-

## After Massachusetts, What?

### Editor's Note

The following article by McAlister Coleman was intended for the Labor Day edition of the Appeal last week, when he got the word from Black Hill that Coolidge was not going to run again and that the field was open for a new labor-hating hero.

What do these things mean? Do they not indicate that labor is impotent so long as there is no organization on the political field? So long as labor continues to compromise with labor's most deadly enemies, so long will utility mark every

effort for the good life.

On Labor Day just past we entered into a new year with the deep scars of the last still vivid upon us. Shall we go forward with a new year, beaten, dispirited and scorned by those in the high places? Or shall we resolve here and now to put behind the overwhelming superiority of our numbers the driving force of collective intelligence and start forth at length upon that long struggle for political and industrial democracy without which the lives of every last one of us are so tragically meaningless?

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